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THE CEREMONIAL CIRCUIT OF THE CARDINAL  
POINTS AMONG THE TUSAYAN INDIANS.

BY J. WALTER FEWKES.

During the progress of the secret ceremonies which are performed in the Kib-vas or Estufas at Hual-pi, and other pueblos of the old province of Tusayan, it is customary for a priest to pass on the north side of the fire-place as he approaches the altar, and on the south as he passes from the altar to the ladder. This custom is conscientiously followed by the older priests, especially when taking part in important ceremonies, and I have seen novices, and even old priests corrected and sent back when they had violated this simple kib-va custom. Has this usage<sup>1</sup> a meaning and if so what is it? I cannot answer these questions<sup>2</sup> satisfactorily, but I can show that the custom permeates most of their religious ceremonies, and that it makes its appearance in many different forms. It may shed some light on our knowledge of the meaning of this usage if some of the instances in which it appears in ceremonies be mentioned. Possibly kindred facts may suggest at least a theoretical explanation.

It is necessary at the very threshold of the subject to define the Hopi conception of the position of the cardinal points. The Hopi<sup>3</sup> or as they are generally called the Mokis have six points which they recognize in their ceremonial observances.

<sup>1</sup> This custom was almost simultaneously noted by myself and Mr. T. G. Owens in our work as members of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition. Mr. Owens will later, in a publication on certain ceremonies which he especially studied, call attention to other examples of the ceremonial circuit which he has observed, and I shall describe it in detail in a memoir which I have in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> I have, however, the names of the Kat-chi-nas who are said to sit at each cardinal point.

<sup>3</sup> The priests at Hual-pi strongly object to being called "Mokis." Mo-ki in their language means "dead." Their true name is Ho-pi-tuh-shi-nuh-mo, peaceful people, Shi-nu-mo simply meaning people. The Mexicans are called Kas-til-shi-nu-mo; Navajos, Ta-shab-shi-nu-mo, etc. I have not found a hieratic and demotic language, among the Hopi, and therefore cannot follow Bourke's suggestion as to the possible origin of the "ancient language." There are many archaic words as in the song sung by the Antelope priest, Tci-no at the Snake Dance, but he himself says that he does not understand the meaning of the words.

They have the four cardinal points to which are added up and down. These directions are always mentioned by them in the following order: north, west, south, east, up and down. Our remarks deal with the four points first named.

These four directions strangely enough do not correspond with the true cardinal points. The so-called Kwi-ni-wi-ke of the Hopi is neither the magnetic nor the polar north, but about northwest, or  $45^{\circ}$  west of north, and the other points vary in the same ratio. Their cardinal points therefore are really northwest, southwest, southeast and northeast. It does not seem in place here to discuss why these people or their priests have chosen these as their ceremonial cardinal points. I believe a ready explanation is found in the orientation of their kib-vas, which in turn depends on the extension of the mesa<sup>1</sup> upon which Hual-pi is situated. It is true that none of the kib-vas in this pueblo are oriented north and south by the meridian, but all five are placed northeast southwest. The ceremonial<sup>2</sup> part of the kib-vas is therefore situated at the southwest end and the spectator's region on the northeast.

Consider now that the walls have the position which they do, and one can readily see, I think, why the position of those walls should determine the ceremonial cardinal points.

The relationship of colors to the cardinal points, which differs among American races, varies slightly in the two pueblos Hual-pi and Ha-no, Tusayan towns situated only a few hundred yards apart on the same mesa. It must be remembered however, that the people of Ha-no are Western Tewans and not true Hopi. This fact is interesting as showing how tenacious the Tusayan Tewans are, not only of their language but

<sup>1</sup> Or speaking more accurately, on the direction of the lines of fissure of the rock of which the mesa is built up. Studies of the kib-vas of the other mesas would throw light on this point.

<sup>2</sup> By the ceremonial part of the kib-va is meant that portion surrounding the Si-pa-pu or opening symbolic of the opening, out of which in the time of the ancients, the races of men emerged. This opening does not exist however in all kib-vas, but it is easy to recognize the ceremonial part in such by the position of the fire-place. The visitor's portion is always raised a few inches above the ceremonial region and it is upon it that one always steps as he passes from the ladder into the chamber of the kib-va.

also of minor religious conceptions. I have found the same to run through many of their customs and beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

In a comparative study of the directional colors of the Hopi with those of other tribes we must remember that yellow corresponds not to north or west, speaking of the true direction, but to northwest. The following colors correspond to the four cardinal points, [calling to mind that the Hopi north is really northwest,] north, yellow; west, blue [represented ceremonially by malachite green<sup>2</sup>]; south, red; east, white. The reason I translate their word *kwi-ni-wi-ke* for the first direction, north, is because they say their north is the same as the American, but differs from it in direction. At Ha-no the colors are the same except that yellow north, and blue west are interchanged; with them north is blue and west is yellow as among eastern Tewans according to Bandelier. In what follows I confine my remarks to the conception of colors and directions used by the Hopi of Hual-pi.

Whenever these four colors are used symbolically they are used in the same order: yellow, blue, red and white. Whenever offerings are made to the four cardinal points they are made in the corresponding circuit, north, west, south and east. Let me cite a few examples of each which may illustrate, possibly establish, my position.

The ceremonial circuit is constantly followed in the preparation of so-called medicine. When a priest pours the liquid of which it is made into the terraced rectangular bowl, preparatory to placing the other ingredients in it, he pours the fluid first on the north side, then on the west, then on the

<sup>1</sup> A most interesting problem is suggested by the proximity of peoples of Hopi and Tewan descent. The time when the Tusayan Tewans separated from the eastern branch is known historically and tradition tells us why they chose the site for their town which they now occupy. Bringing with them their own mythology they found a similarity between it and that of the Ho-pi, and at once recognized the equivalents of their mythological conception. It would be an interesting research to study the linguistics of the Tusayan Tewans as compared with the eastern to determine the character of the modifications brought about in two centuries, and to find out in these instances where the eastern and western branches have a common name for a deity what Hopi mythological personage the Tusayan branch regard as the equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> When green is mentioned in this article, blue is the color which is in reality meant. Malachite gives a convenient material for paint and, when ground, for sand mosaics, but when used represents blue, I think, in all cases. Diamond dye blue, symbolic of the west, is sometimes used in the ornamentation of dolls or *te-hus*.

south and then on the east side of the bowl. This I have repeatedly seen performed by many different priests. I have witnessed it in the kib-va exercises of the farewell [*Ni-man*] kat-chi-na, the secret exercises performed by the antelope assemblage at the time of the Snake Ceremonials,<sup>1</sup> in the observances of the flute fraternity and in the cryptic celebration of washing the snakes, which occurs at noon on the day of the Snake Dance. In all instances the liquid is poured into the medicine bowl in the sequence of cardinal points mentioned above. When the sacred meal and cornpollen is added to the liquid in the bowl the same circuit is followed, the priest first throwing a pinch to each point before placing another in the bowl itself. When, as in the *Ni-man kat-chi-na*, the priest, In-ti-wa, washes the crystals and shells from the six ears of corn into the medicine, he takes up first the corn ear at the north of the bowl and then the others in ceremonial circuit. When these ears of corn were laid in their radiating position which they occupy about the bowl, the same sequence was followed and when the rock crystals were placed upon each ear the same law was followed. The greatest care is always exercised when ingredients are placed in the medicine bowl during a ceremony to follow the law indicated.<sup>2</sup>

The ceremonial circuit of the cardinal points is also followed in those observances in which asperging takes place. During the complex ceremony in the Mung-kib-va, performed by the antelope priests at the celebration of the Snake ceremonies, Ha-hau-ly, the pipe lighter, dips his aspergill into the medicine bowl while the traditional songs are being sung and after asperging the sand mosaic altar throws medicine to the north, then to the west, then to the south and then to the east. This he does in each of the sixteen songs which the antelopes sing continuously in this ceremony.

<sup>1</sup> A memoir on the nine days ceremonial known as the Tcu-a-ti-ki-bi, the last day of which has been often described as the Snake Dance, in which the observances and the traditions connected with them will be considered, is in course of preparation by Mr. A. H. Stephen and the author.

<sup>2</sup> Most interesting illustrations of the ceremonial circuit occur in the cryptic celebration of "Washing the Snakes," prior to the last day's celebration of the Snake Dance, and in the preparation of the liquid (medicine), used by the Snake priests in the manufacture of the clay pellets which they wear tied to their bandoliers.

The instructive ceremonies which take place on the morning following a celebration known as the Ni-man kat-chi-na to which reference has already been made, and which I have witnessed in two of the Tusayan pueblos, have many examples of the law of the circuit of the cardinal points. It is customary at this time for four persons, three of whom are dressed as Kat-chi-nas, to stand facing the kib-va entrance at the four cardinal points. At a certain time the leader walks around the kib-va entrance, throwing a little water to each of the four directions. After him follow the others, but all move about the kib-va opening in a direction opposite the hands of a watch. Later the same persons march around the entrance to the kib-va and pour liquid into a bowl held up by a priest who stands on the lowest rung of the kib-va ladder. In performing these and similar services they pass in the same direction, and all ceremonies involving the four points begin at the same side which is always that referred to as the Hopi north. All the offerings which the kat-che-nas hand into the kib-va, and all those which the priest within throws out follow the same ceremonial circuit which I have described. The priest himself inside the kib-va, in casting the meal out of the entrance upon the Kat-chi-nas, observes the same order. Later in this observance, when the kat-chi-na chief emerges from the kib-va to accompany those outside to the crypt in which the offerings are deposited, he stands on the roof of the hatchway of the estufa and throws a pinch of meal first to the north, then to the west, then to the south and last of all to the east. The other priests who follow do the same, and there are many instances where offerings are made in the same circuit in this instructive service which celebrates the departure of kat-chi-nas or "sitters" to their home in the Francisco Mountain. I have observed the ceremonial circuit in the formal smoking which precedes and follows most kib-va observances. I have watched several of the more conservative priests in the ceremonial smoking,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup>Many interesting things might be mentioned in regard to the ceremonial smoking among the pueblos, not the least interesting of which are the methods of passing the pipe and the terms of relationship exchanged, their interpretation of the act of smoking and the love connected with it, but I reserve this for a more extended account.

have always noticed that after having puffed the smoke upon the sacred things on the altar, they send a whiff to each of the cardinal points in the ceremonial circuit.

In the midst of some of the most sacred ceremonies of preparation of medicine it is customary in certain observances to make four marks with sacred meal on each wall of the house, on the ceiling and floor. During the midnight exercises of the Flute Observance and in the woman's dance, *La-la-kon-ti*, as well as in several other ceremonies this has been observed. When the priests make their four marks on the walls, they always begin with the north and follow the ceremonial circuit, ending with the floor.

In the Snake Celebration the planting of the prayer plumes is entrusted to one of the four chiefs of the antelopes, who places four each day in appropriate shrines, one at each of the four cardinal points. To do this he makes a course around the mesa, the radius of which diminishes each day until the last when he does not leave the top of the mesa itself. In making these runs to deposit the plumes he follows the ceremonial circuit, beginning with the shrine at the north and ending with that at the east.

The snake priests plant their prayer sticks and hunt on four consecutive days for the snakes used in the dance, first to the north, then to the west, then to the south and finally to the east of the mesa on which the pueblo stands.

It is the custom of the Tusayan pueblos to celebrate a solemn ceremony at the time of the Flute Festival<sup>1</sup> in which the cloud god, *O-man-a*, personified by one of their priests, deposits prayer plumes in the bed of their large springs and takes offerings from the same. At a most impressive time in this ceremony he wades about the spring, neck deep in the water, four times each in the direction necessitated by the ceremonial circuit.

<sup>1</sup> This celebration lasts nine days and is observed on alternate years with the Snake Dance in *Hual-pi* and *Mi-shon-o-vi*. It was observed last summer in *Shi-pau-lo-vi*, *Shi-mo-pa-vi* and *O-lai-bi*. I had the good fortune to study it in the first mentioned pueblo and to be initiated into the priesthood in that place. The last day of the celebration called the *Ley-la-tak* I have partially described in another place (*Journal of American Folk Lore, a Suggestion as to the Meaning of the Moki Snake Dance*).

The above are but a few of many examples which might be mentioned of ceremonies in which the circuit is followed. The evidence from the use of colors substantiates that already given above. The priest of the Antelope Assemblage, in making the sand mosaic picture in the Mung-kib-va a few days before the Snake-Dance, first makes the yellow border, then the green, then the red and then the white.<sup>1</sup> The north line of the yellow is followed by the west of the same color, then the south and then the east. The same sequence of colors occurs when he outlines and makes the body of the semicircular clouds in the centre of the mosaic (dry painting). The lightning serpents of the four colors are made in the same order of the colors. Colored disks on small bushes are thrown into the kib-va by the four persons who stand outside on the morning after the *Ni-man-kat-china*. First the yellow, then the green, then the red and then the white disks are thrown in in this observance.<sup>2</sup>

In the construction of a pathway of sand and meal across the floor in the Flute Festival four materials are used which correspond with the cardinal points. They are laid on the floor in the sequence corresponding to the ceremonial circuit, north, west, south and east.

Six bird effigies are laid along this line composed of sand, fine meal, coarse meal and corn pollen. These bird figures correspond with the cardinal points, and that named for the north is placed in position first, the others following the ceremonial circuit.

It is interesting to note that the ceremonial circuit is opposite that of the sun in its daily course in the sky. It is proba-

<sup>1</sup> Wi-ki, the Antelope priest, is not always careful to follow this order in placing the colored sands in the sand mosaic (dry painting), but that order is intended, and is generally followed.

<sup>2</sup> The association of colors of opposite directions in certain ceremonials is interesting. For instance in these disks the four white are spotted with green dots, the four green with white, the four yellow with red and the four red with yellow spots. In the same way the four rattlesnakes on the black border of the sand mosaic of the snake assemblage in the snake dance have the head and body of the white snake marked by a green border, the green snake with a white, the yellow with a red, and the red snake with a yellow outline. The same is true of the necklaces of the snakes when present, and the lines indicating rattles. In the lightning snakes of the altar of the antelopes these zigzag figures both male and female have a black border.



bly more than a coincidence that it is the same circuit which the snake and antelope priests take when they move about the place, and where the latter carry the snakes in their mouths. It is generally the same circuit adopted by some of the Kat-chi-nas when they turn in the dances, viz : opposite the motion of the hands of a watch.<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible in a short notice to develop the idea of a fixed ceremonial circuit which is rarely violated. To do so as I would wish, necessitates long descriptions of ceremonies, the names even of which are new to ethnological students. It is possible here to hardly do more than make the barest statements, which will later be substantiated when the ceremonial events are minutely described. The custom of entering and leaving a kib-va, or of passing the fire-place on a certain side is but one illustration of a law which finds expression throughout all the religious customs, secret and public, of the Tusayan Indians. It would be interesting to see whether other American races have the same ceremonial circuit of the cardinal points. My reading has shown me that in some instances they do not.

<sup>1</sup>It is not however always the direction in which the Kat-chi-nas turn in their dancing, for often they turn half way around in this direction and then return to the same position in an opposite way. Upon this point more observations are needed. In most instances it is the course which the procession of Kat-chi-nas follow in Hual-pi when they march from one place to another, between dances. While there are a few exceptions to the law of ceremonial circuit they are not numerous enough to indicate the existence of any other direction of the circuit.